

# Text of President Reagan's Address on Nuclear Policy and East-West Ties

EUREKA, Ill., May 9 (AP) — Following is the text of the commencement address prepared for delivery by President Reagan today at Eureka College.

It goes without saying that this is a very special day for you who are graduating. Would you forgive me if I say it is a special day for me also? Over the years since I left where you of the graduating class of 1982 are now sitting, I've returned to this campus many times, always with great pleasure and warm nostalgia. I can't tell you that I just came back to clean out my locker in the gym.

On one of those occasions, I addressed a graduating class here, "neath the elms," and was awarded an honorary degree. I informed those assembled that which I was grateful for the honor, it added to a feeling I'd been nursing for 20 years. I always figured the first degree I was given was honorary.

If it is true that tradition is the glue holding civilization together, then Eureka has made its contribution to that effort. Yes, it is a small college in a small community; it is no impersonal assembly-line diploma mill. The years pass, if you let yourselves absorb the spirit and tradition of this place, you'll find the four years you've spent here living in your memory as a rich and important part of your life.

**Extracurricular Activities**  
Oh, you'll have some regrets along with the happy memories. I let football and other extracurricular activities eat into my study time. The result that my grade average was closer to the "C" level required to maintain eligibility than it was to straight A's. Even now I wonder what I might have accomplished if I'd studied harder.

I know there are differences between the Eureka College of 1962 and

the Eureka of 1982, but I'm also sure that in many ways — important ways — Eureka remains the same. For one thing, it is impossible for you now to believe what I've said about things being the same. We who preceded you understood that very well. We thought "old grads" who came back only five years after they got out — not 50 — couldn't understand what our life was like. Just take my word for it — as the years go by you'll be amazed at how free the members of these classes are, "neath in your mind, how easily you can relive the very emotions you experienced."

The class of '32 has no yearbook to record our final days on the campus. The class of '33 didn't put out a "yearbook" because of the hardships of that Great Depression era. The faculty went without pay sometimes during the winter months. And this school made it possible for young men and women, myself included, to get an education even though we had virtually no funds, our families destitute victims of the Depression.

And you end, and you yet still know what we did for you. Everything that has been good in my life began here.

**'Commencement'**

Graduation day is called "commencement" and proper so because it is both recognition of completion and of beginning. I would like to talk to you about this new day in the history of society in which you are now going to take your place as full-time participants. You are no longer observers; you will be asked to make decisions and express your views on global events because those events will affect your life.

## Meeting of Allies in Europe

I've spoken of similarities, and the 1980's, like the 1930's, may be one of those, a crucial juncture in history that will determine the direction of the future.

In about a month I will meet in Europe with the leaders of nations who are our closest friends and allies. At Versailles, leaders of the industrial powers of the world will seek better ways to meet today's economic challenges. In Bonn I will join my colleagues from the Atlantic Alliance nations to renew those ties which have been the foundation of Western, free-world defense for 37 years. There will also be meetings in Rome and London. These meetings are significant for a simple yet important reason. Our own nation's fate is directly linked to that of our sister democracies in Europe. The values for which American and all democratic nations stand represent the culmination of Western culture.

**Sakharov Message**

Andrei Sakharov, the distinguished Nobel Laureate and champion of Soviet human rights advocate, has written in a message smuggled to freedom: "I believe in Western man. I have faith in him, which is practical."

cal and efficient and at the same time aspires to great goals. I have faith in his good intentions and his desire to achieve the goal of a peaceful community of nations. Only as partners can we defend the values of democracy and human dignity we hold so dear.

There is a single, major issue in our partnership which will underlie the discussions that I will have with European leaders: the future of Western relations with the Soviet Union. How should we deal with the Soviet Union in the years ahead? What framework should guide our conduct and policies toward it? What can we realistically expect from a world power of such scope, hostilities and external ambitions?

I believe the unity of the West is the foundation for any successful relationship with the Soviet Union. Without Western unity, we will squander our energies in bickering while the Soviet Union grows in power. With unity, we have the strength to moderate Soviet behavior. We have done so in the past and we can do so again.

## East-West Ties

Our challenge is to establish a framework in which sound East-West relations will endure. I believe we can build a more constructive relationship with the Soviet Union. To do so, however, we must understand the nature of the Soviet system and the lessons of the past.

The Soviet Union is a huge empire ruled by an elite that holds all power and all privilege. They hold it tightly because — as we have seen in Poland — they fear what might happen if they lose the smallest amount of control slips from their grasp. They fear the ineffectiveness of their system and because of this in many ways their system has failed. The Soviet empire is faltering because rigid, centralized control has destroyed incentives for innovation, efficiency and individual achievement. Spiritually, there is a sense of moral and resentment.

But in the midst of social and economic problems, the Soviet leadership has forged the largest armed force in the world. It has done so by pre-empting the human needs of its people, and, in the end, this course will undermine the foundations of the Soviet system. Harry Truman was right when he said to the Soviets that "when you try to conquer other people or extend yourself over vast areas, you cannot win in the long run."

**Lessons of the Past**

Yet Soviet aggressiveness has grown as Soviet military power has increased. To compete, the Soviet Union has learned from the lessons of the past. When the West has stood firm and unified, the Soviet Union has been forced to back down. For 35 years Western Europe has lived free despite the shadow of Soviet military might. Through unity, you will remember from your modern history courses, the West secured the withdrawal of occupation forces from Austria and the recognition of its rights in Berlin.

Other Western policies have not been successful. East-West relations expanded in the hope of providing incentives for Soviet restraint, but the Soviets exploited the benefits of trade without moderating their behavior. Despite a decade of ambitious arms-control efforts, the Soviet buildup continues. And despite its signature of Helsinki agreements on human rights, the Soviet Union has not relaxed its hold on its own people or those of Eastern Europe.

**Warning of President Kennedy**

During the 1970's, some of us forgot the warning of President Kennedy, who said that the Soviets "have offered to trade us an apple for an orchard. We don't do that in this country." Well, we came perilously close to doing just that.

If East-West relations in the détente era have yielded disaster, I believe we have yielded a severe disillusionment for those who expected a moderation of Soviet behavior. The Soviet Union continues to support Vietnam in its occupation of Kampuchea and its mass expulsions in Laos. It is engaged in a war of aggression against Afghanistan. Soviet proxy forces have been active in Africa and Central America.

We are now approaching an extremely important phase in East-West relations as the current Soviet leadership is succeeded by a new generation. The current leadership has destroyed incentives for innovation, efficiency and individual achievement. Spiritually, there is a sense of moral and resentment.

On the other hand, a Soviet leadership devoted to improving its people's lives, rather than expanding its armed conquests, will find a sympathetic response in the West.

**Massive Soviet Buildup**

This is the increasingly destructive potential of the massive Soviet buildup in its ballistic missile force. Mr. Reagan told a receptive audience at the college where he graduated that the Soviet Union is "a threat to the peace of the world."

He switched to a conciliatory tone to describe his proposal for the strategic arms reduction talks.

"We will negotiate seriously in good faith, and carefully consider all proposals made by the Soviet Union," Mr. Reagan said. If the Soviets adopt the same spirit, he added, "I believe that together we can achieve an agreement of enduring value that reduces the number of nuclear weapons, halts the growth of their forces, and opens the way to even more far-reaching steps in the future."

President Reagan speaking yesterday at Eureka College in Illinois.

etic partner in the West. The West will respond with expanded trade and other forms of cooperation.

But all this depends on Soviet actions. Standing in the Athenian marketplace 2,000 years ago, Demosthenes said, "What name man would let another man's words rather than his deeds provide who is at peace and who is at war with him?"

## 5-Point Guide to Relations

Peace is not the absence of conflict, but the ability to cope with conflict by peaceful means. I believe we can fashion a realistic, durable policy that will protect our interests and keep the peace, not just for this generation, but for your children and grandchildren.

I believe such a policy consists of five points: military balance, economic security, regional stability, arms reduction and dialogue. These are the means by which we can seek peace with the Soviet Union in the years ahead. Today, I want to set out this five-point program to guide the future of East-West relations.

### Military Balance

First, a sound East-West military balance is absolutely essential. Last week NATO published a comprehensive comparison of its forces with those of the Warsaw Pact. Its message is clear: During the past decade, the Soviet Union has built up its forces across the board.

During that same period the defense expenditures of the United States declined in real terms. The U.S. has already undertaken steps to recover from the decade of neglect. And I should add that the expenditures of our European allies have increased sharply but not to the level we offer to recognize here at home.

### Economic Security

The second point on which we must reach consensus with our allies deals with economic security. Consultations are under way among Western nations on the transfer of militarily significant technology and the extension

of financial credits to the East, as well as on the question of energy dependence on the East.

We recognize that some of our allies' economic requirements are distinct from our own. But the Soviets must not have access to Western technology with military applications, and we must not subsidize the Soviet economy. The Soviet Union must make the difficult choices brought on by its military budgets and economic shortcomings.

### Regional Stability

The third element is regional stability with peaceful change. Last year in a speech in Philadelphia and in the summit meetings in Cancun, I outlined the basic American plan to assist the developing world. These principles for economic development remain the foundation of our approach. They represent no threat to the Soviet Union. Yet in many areas of the developing world we find that Soviet arms and Soviet-supported troops are attempting to destabilize societies and create an influence.

High on our agenda must be progress toward peace in Afghanistan. The United States is prepared to engage in a serious effort to negotiate an end to the conflict caused by the Soviet invasion of that country. We are ready to cooperate in an international effort to resolve this problem, to secure a full Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, and to ensure self-determination for the Afghan people.

In southern Africa, working closely with our Western allies and the African states, we have made real progress toward independence from apartheid. We are confident that, if successful, will result in peaceful and successful proposals.

In the second part of Mr. Reagan's plan, the official said, both sides would further reduce their arms to attain an equal level in "throw weight," the total weight in warheads and related equipment that missiles can carry to a target.

In debate within the Administration over the arms control issue, Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. and State Department analysts have favored using numbers of missiles, rather than weight as the "unit of account" in the talks with the Russians.

Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger and Pentagon analysts have favored using weight as the bargaining unit, arguing that this measurement most accurately expressed the Soviet advantage.

The senior Administration officials who spoke with reporters today insisted

conditions throughout southern Africa. The simultaneous withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola is essential to achieving Namibian independence, as well as creating long-range prospects for peace in the region.

Central America also has become a dangerous point of tension in East-West relations. The Soviet Union can not escape responsibility for the violence and suffering in the region caused by its support for Cuban activities in Central America, and its accelerated transfer of advanced military equipment to Cuba.

### In Eastern Europe

However, it was in Eastern Europe that the hopes of the 1970's were greatest, and it is there that they have been most bitterly disappointed. There was hope that the people of Poland could develop a freer society. But the Soviet Union has refused to allow the people of Poland to decide their own fate, just as it refused to allow the people of Hungary to decide theirs in 1956, or the people of Czechoslovakia in 1968.

If martial law in Poland is lifted, if all the political prisoners are released, and if a dialogue is restored with the Solidarity Union, the United States is prepared to join in a program of economic support. Water cannons and clubs against the Polish people are hardly the kind of dialogue that gives us hopes. It is up to the Soviets and their client regimes to show good faith by concrete actions.

### Arms Reduction

The fourth point is arms reductions. I know that this weighs heavily on many of your minds. In our 1931 "Prism," we quoted Carl Sandburg, who in his own beautiful way quoted the Mother Prairie, saying, "Have you seen a red sunset drip over one of my cornfields, the shore of night stars, the waves line of dawn up a wheat valley?" What an idyllic scene that paints in our minds — and what a nightmarish prospect that a huge mushroom cloud might someday destroy such beauty. My duty as President is to ensure that the ultimate nightmare never occurs, that the barriers and the cities and the people who inhabit them remain free and untouched by nuclear conflict.

With more than anything there were a simple policy that would eliminate the nuclear danger. But there are no simple policy choices through which we can achieve a stable nuclear balance at the lowest possible level.

I do not doubt that the Soviet people, and, yes, the Soviet leaders have an overriding interest in preventing the use of nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union within the memory of its leaders has known the devastation of total conventional war, and knows that nuclear war would be even more calamitous. Yet, so far, the Soviet Union has used arms-control negotiations primarily as an instrument to restrict U.S. defense programs and, in conjunction with their own arms buildup, to enhance Soviet power and prestige.

Unfortunately, for some time suspicions have grown that the Soviet Union has been living up to its obligations under existing arms-control treaties. There is conclusive evidence the Soviet Union has provided troops to the Laotians and Vietnamese for use against defenseless villagers in Southeast Asia. And the Soviet themselves are employing chemical weapons on the freedom fighters in Afghanistan.

### Criteria and Agreements

We must establish firm criteria for arms control in the 1980's. If we are to secure genuine and lasting restraint on Soviet military programs through arms control, we must seek agreements which are verifiable, equitable and militarily significant. Agreements that provide only the appearance of arms control breed dangerous illusions.

Last November I committed the United States to seek significant reductions on nuclear and conventional forces.

In Geneva, we have since proposed limits on U.S. and Soviet intermediate-range missiles, including the complete elimination of the most threatening systems on both sides.

In Vienna, we are negotiating, to

gether with our allies, for reductions of conventional forces in Europe.

In the 40-nation Committee on Disarmament, the United States seeks a total ban on all chemical weapons. Since the first days of my Administration, we have been working on our approach to the crucial issue of strategic arms-control negotiations with the Soviet Union. The study and analysis required have been complex and difficult. It has to be undertaken deliberately, thoroughly and correctly. We have laid a solid basis for these negotiations, we are consulting with congressional leaders and with our allies, and we are now ready to proceed.

### The Nuclear Balance

The main threat to peace posed by nuclear weapons today is the growing instability of the nuclear balance. This is due to the increasingly diverse potential of the massive Soviet buildup in its ballistic missile force.

Therefore, our goal is to enhance deterrence and achieve stability through significant reductions in the most destabilizing nuclear systems — ballistic missiles, and especially in intercontinental ballistic missiles — while maintaining a nuclear capability sufficient to deter conflict, underwrite our national security and meet our commitment to allies and friends.

### Phased Reduction Plan

For the immediate future, I am asking my State negotiating team to propose to the Soviet counterparts a practical, phased reduction plan. The focus of our efforts will be to reduce significantly the most destabilizing systems — ballistic missiles — the number of warheads they carry, and their overall destructive potential. At the end of the first phase of the Start reductions, I expect ballistic missile warheads — the most serious threat we face — to be reduced to equal ceilings at least a third below current levels. To enhance stability, I would ask that no more than half of those warheads be land-based. I hope that these warhead reductions, as well as significant reductions in missiles themselves, could be achieved as rapidly as possible.

In a second phase, we will seek to achieve an equal ceiling on other elements of our strategic nuclear forces, including limits on Soviet missile throwweight at less than current American levels. In both phases, we shall insist on verification procedures to insure compliance with the agreement.

The monumental task of reducing and reshaping our strategic forces to enhance stability will take many years of concentrated effort. But I believe that it will be possible to reduce the risks of war by removing the instabilities that now exist and by dismantling the nuclear menace.

### Letter to Brezhnev

I have written to President Brezhnev and directed Secretary Haig to approach the Soviet Government concerning the institution of formal negotiations on the reduction of strategic nuclear arms — Start — at the earliest possible opportunity. We hope negotiations will begin by the end of June.

We will negotiate seriously, in good faith and with carefully considered proposals made by the Soviet Union. If they approach these negotiations in the same spirit, I am confident that together we can achieve an agreement of enduring value that reduces the number of nuclear weapons, halts the growth in strategic forces, and opens the way to even more far-reaching steps in the future.

I hope the commencement today will also mark the commencement of a new era — in both senses of the word — as we move toward a more peaceful, more secure world.

### Dialogue

The fifth and final point I propose for East-West relations is dialogue. I have always believed that problems can be solved when people seek understanding of each other. I have already expressed my own desire to meet with President Brezhnev in New York next month. If this cannot be done, I would hope we could arrange a future meeting where positive results can be anticipated.

And when we sit down, I will tell President Brezhnev that the United States is ready to build a new understanding based upon the principles I have outlined here today. I will tell him that his Government and his people have nothing to fear from the United States. The free nations living at peace in the world community can vouch for the fact that we seek only harmony. And I will ask President Brezhnev why our two nations cannot practice mutual restraint. Why can't our peoples enjoy the benefits that would flow from real cooperation? Why can't we reduce the number of horrendous weapons?

Perhaps I should also speak to him of this school and the young graduates who are leaving it today — of your hopes for the future, of your deep desire for peace, of your true commitment to defend your values if threatened. Perhaps if I could somehow say to him that you, the young men and women here, would better understand America, in the only system he knows, you would understand the decision to go to war and on this day the government would be represented here telling many of you where you were going to work after your graduation.

But as we go to Europe for the talks and as we proceed on the important chess pieces facing this world, I want you to know I will be thinking of you, and Eureka and what you represent. And I will be thinking of you when I read that "The work of the prairie is to be the soil for the growth of a strong Western culture." I believe Eureka is fulfilling that work. You, the members of the 1982 graduating class, are this year's harvest. As individuals and as an institution, and you as Americans are sustaining the best of Western man's ideals. As a whole graduate and in the office I told, I will do my best to uphold these same ideals.

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